

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 EA-06 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 NIC-01 /084 W

----- 069278

R 071350Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6761

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

YJMCONSUL BOMBAY 7873

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 1812

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IN

SUBJECT: UNREMWEABLE CPI CONGRESS CONTINUES OLD POLICIES

REF: NEW DELHI 8337 (JUNE 24, 1974)

1. THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (CPI) AT VIJAYAWADA CLOSED ITS WEEK LONG SESSION ON FEBRUARY 2 WITH A PLEDGE TO FIGHT AGAINST THE DANGERS OF "RIGHT RE-ACTION" IN THE FORM OF THE J.O. NARAYAN MOVEMENT AT HOME AND AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN THE FORM OF THE U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. TO DISPEL ANY POSSIBLE DOUBTS, THE POLITICAL REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AT THE CONGRESS IDENTIFIED JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN AS ENEMY NUMBER ONE OF THE PROGRESSIVE MARCH OF THE NATION. ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SIDE, THE CIP INDICATED IT WOULD CONTINUE EF-
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FORTS TO ZMN BACK THE ALLEGIANCE OF ITS PRINCIPAL SPLINTER

-- THE CPI (MARXIST. AT THE SAME TIME THE CPI REAFFIRMED ITS AMBIGUOUS POLICY OF SUPPORTING THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY IN SOME STATES AND NATIONALLY, WHILE OPPOSING CONGRESS IN OTHERS. PRELIMINARY REPORTS INDICATE THAT ALL WAS NOT HARMONY. FOR EXAMPLE, AS MANY AS 200 AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION WERE MOVED, AND TEN ACCEPTED -- INDICATING THAT MANY MEMBERS HAVE AT LEAST SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE OFFICIAL LINE.

2. CHARGES WERE MADE AT THE CONGRESS SESSIONS THAT THE INDO-U.S. JOINT COMMISSION WILL BE USED BY THE CIA TO PENETRATE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES, RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS AND SENSITIVE SECTORS OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY. U.S. COLLABORATION WITH CHINA WAS LABELLED A PARTICULAR DANGER TO INDIA. THE U.S. WAS ALSO CHARGED WITH MOBILIZING AGENTS FROM BOTH "THE LEFT" AND "THE RIGHT" TO OVERTHROW THE GOI. A CPI RESOLUTION APPROVED ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE CONGRESS URGED THE GOI TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN CALLING A MEETING OF ALL THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST INDIAN OCEAN LITTORAL STATES TO MAKE THE INDIAN OCEAN A ZONE OF PEACE. THE SAME DOCUMENT DEMANDED THE LIQUIDATION OF THE US BASE AT DIEGO GARCIA AND URGED THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE A STRONG STAND AGAINST NAVAL MANEUVERS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

3. OVER 60 PERCENT OF THE 1,7000 DELEGATES TO THE CPI CONGRESS BELONG TO THE MIDDLE CLASS, INCLUDING THAT MIDDLE PEASANTRY, AND NEARLY 85 PERCENT WERE OVER 35 YEARS OF AGE. THIS UNFLATTERING PICTURE OF AN AGING PARTY EMERGES FROM THE REPORT OF THE PARTY'S CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. ONLY 10 PERCENT OF THE DELEGATES WERE FROM THE WORKING CLASS AND 23 PERCENT WERE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OR POOR PEASANTS. (CPI LEADERS PROFESSED THAT THE CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATES DID NOT REALLY REFLECT THE NEW RAPID INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP WHICH WAS FROM THE WORKING CLASS AND POOR PEASANTRY.) DELEGATES FROM EVERY STATE EXCEPT NAGALAND AND MIZORAM ATTENDED THE CONGRESS. THE CPI NOW CLAIMS 350,000 MEMBERS (UP FROM 325,000 A YEAR AGO). TO REPRESENT THIS TOTAL THE CPI HAS INCREASED IT NATIONAL COUNCIL FROM 101 TO 125 MEMBERS, AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FROM 25 TO 31 MEMBERS.

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4. THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT OF THE CPI WAS RE-ELECTED IN NATOTO BY THE PARTY'S NEW NATIONAL COUNCIL ON FEBRUARY 3, THE DAY AFTER THE PARTY CONGRESS ADJOURNED. S.A. DANGE AND RAJESWARA RAO WERE RE-ELECTED CHAIRMAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY RESPECTIVELY. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT RETURNED TO OFFICE WERE: N.K. KRISHNAN, BHUPESH GUPTA, YOGINDRA SHARMA, INDRADEEP SINHA, INDRAJIT GUPTA, N. RAJASEKHARA REDDY AND K. KUMARAN.

5. THE STAR ATTRACTION OF THE 'FATERNAL' DELEGATES FROM 27 COUNTRIES WAS SHARIF RASHIDOV, ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE CPSU POLITBURO AND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUFUSH PARTY OF UZBEKISTAN. (PRIME MINISTER GANDHI RECEIVED RASHIDOV ON FEBRUARY 3, BUT THERE WAS NO PRESS COVERAGE ON THAT MEETING). OTHER COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT THE CPI CONGRESS INCLUDED BULGARIA, HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GDR, POLAND, YUGOSLAVIA, MONGOLIA, CUBA, FRANCE, ITALY, CHILE, SRI LANKA, BANGLADESH AND NEPAL. THE U.S. DELEGATE, HENRY WINSTON, FELL ILL IN MOSCOW ENROUTE AND DID NOT MAKE IT TO VIJAYAWADA. (A FULL LISTING OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES REPRESENTED HAS NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED.)

6. RASHIDOV'S LENGTHY ADDRESS TO THE DELEGATES INCLUDED GLOWING STATISTICS REFLECTING THE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE OF UZBEKISTAN. IN A BROADER VEIN, HE URGED THE DELEGATES TO MAKE THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IRREVERSIBLE. HE WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT "THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM HAS NOT CHANGED", AND THAT REACTION WOULD NOT YIELD WITHOUT A STRUGGLE. HE APPLAUDED THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND INDIA, CITING PRIME MINISTER GANDHI BY NAME AS BEING IN COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING WITH THIS "IMPORTANT FACTOR OF PEACE AND SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND INDIA". RASHIDOV CHAMPIONED A COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT FOR ASIA. HE CRITICIZED THE PRC, BUT CONTENDED THE SOVIET UNION "IS WORKING TO NORMALIZE STATE RELATIONS WITH CHINA". HE URGED THE CPI TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN INDIA AND "TO COOPERATE WITH THE COUNTRY'S LEFT DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC CIRCLES".

7. COMMENT: THIS ALL LEAVEFOCPI POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH
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CONGRESS ESSENTIALLY WHERE THEY WERE LAST JUNE (REFTEL).
THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOWHERE ELSE TO GO EXCEPT INTO STRONG
OPPOSITION. SOVIET PRESSURES AND THEIR WON DOMESTIC POWREWB

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RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 NIC-01 /084 W

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R 071350Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 1812

TICAL WEAKNESS MILITATE AGAINST THAT AS A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE. (IF THE CP (M) WERE EVER TO RESPOND TO CPI BLANDISHMENTS, THE LATTER'S OPTIONS COULD WIDEN, BUT CPM SUSPICION OF THE ROLE OF THE USSR AND PERSONAL ANTAGONISMS AMONG CPI AND CPM LEADERS MAKE THIS UNLIKELY.)

8. FOR ITS PART, CONGRESS CONTINUES TO FIND THE CPI A USEFUL ALLY ON THE "LEFT", PARTICULARLY IN KERALA AND WEST BENGAL WHERE PARTY POLITICS ARE SHARPLY SPLIT BETWEEN CONGRESS ON THE ONE HAND AND THE MORE MILITANT COMMUNIST (MARXIST) PARTY ON THE OTHER. IN RECENT MONTHS, MRS. GANDHI HERSELF APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN LEANING TOWARD PLACATING THE MIDDLE CLASS AND THE SMALL FARMER. SHE APPARENTLY STILL FINDS IT CONVENT, HOWEVER, TO HAVE A SUPPORTING ELEMENT ON HER FAR "LEFT": (1) TO ENABLE HER TO MAINTAIN A SEMBLANCE OF HER "SOCIALIST" IMAGE, AND (2) TO PROVIDE A COUNTER-CONFIDENTIAL

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BALANCE AGAINST THE STRONG AND INCREASINGLY VOCAL ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FACTION WHICH PRESSES HER TOWARD MORE CONSERVATIVE POLICIES THAN SHE WISHES TO ADOPT.

9. THE CPI STILL PLAYS A SIGNIFICANT TACTICAL ROLE IN MRS. GANDHI'S POLITICAL MANEUVERINGS. IN THE PROCESS, IT GAINS

FOR ITSELF SOME ADDITIONAL POLITICAL PLUMS IN THE FORM OF LEGISLATIVE SEATS AND A FEW MINISTERSHIPS FOR FORMER CPI MEMBERS WHO NOW BELONG TO CONGRESS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CPI AND CONGRESS SHARE A GENUINE INTEREST AND CONCERN IN RESISTING FURTHER POLITICAL STRENGTHENING OF JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT AND THE PARTIES WHICH SUPPORT IT.

10. THUS THE UNEASY ASSOCIATION CONTINUES, WITH THE AGING CPI LEADERSHIP CONTINUING TO IMPOSE A POLICY ON THE PARTY ABOUT WHICH MANY PARTY MEMBERS APPEAR TO HAVE RESERVATIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE EXPANSION OF THE CPI'S NATIONAL COUNCIL WAS DESIGNED TO PUT NEW BLOOD IN THE LEADERSHIP WHILE PRESERVING THE SECRETARIAT AS THE LOCUS OF POWER. AMONG THE LEADERS THEMSELVES, RAO SEEMS TO BE IN FRIM CONTROL WHILE DANGE IS FADING AND BHUPESH GUPTA'S INFLUENCE IS IN SHARP DECLINE. WHILE THE CPI'S CAUTIOUS POLICIES KEEP THE PARTY ON AN EVEN KEEL, THEY WILL ALSO PROBABLY CONTINUE TO PREVENT IT FROM MAKING AN EFFECTIVE "RADICAL" APPEAL TO YOUTH. THE CPI IS EXTREMELY WEAK AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THE RURAL "MASSES" AND THE PARTY CONGRESS' EXPLICIT CALL TO STRENGTHEN WORK AMONG THESE GROUPS REFLECTS THIS. SUCH WEAKNESS TOO SERVES THE INTEREST OF THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY AND MRS. GANDHI IN PREVENTING THE CPI FROM GAINING A STRONGER FOOTHOLD AMONG GROUPS WHICH TRADITIONALLY HAVE SUPPORTED CONGRESS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL PARTIES, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, POLITICAL SITUATION, IMPERIALISM
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NEWDE01812
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750045-0998
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750262/aaaaceam.tel
Line Count: 249
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 NEW DELHI 8337, 75 (JUNE 24, 75 197
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <24 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UNREMEMWEABLE CPI CONGRESS CONTINUES OLD POLICIES
TAGS: PINT, IN, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006